

THE MIGRATION OF UNDEREMPLOYED  
PEOPLE FROM RURAL TO URBAN AREAS IN GEORGIA

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Stephen Earl Dinges

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THE MIGRATION OF UNDEREMPLOYED  
PEOPLE FROM RURAL TO URBAN AREAS IN GEORGIA

**Approved:**

Edward L. Keating, Chairman

Eldon S. ~~Miller~~

Morris Mitzner

Date approved by Chairman: 26 August 1956

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	ii
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . .	v
SUMMARY . . . . .	vi
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Definition of Migration	
Definition of Problem	
II. WHY MIGRANTS CHOOSE A PARTICULAR URBAN AREA . . . . .	17
Push Factors	
Pull Factors	
Intermediate Factors	
Personal Factors	
A Migration Model	
III. EXISTING POLICY IN GEORGIA ASSISTING RURAL TO	30
TO URBAN MIGRANTS . . . . .	30
State Policy	
City of Atlanta Programs	
Privately Sponsored Programs	
IV. EVALUATION OF EXISTING STATE, CITY AND PRIVATE	
AGENCY POLICIES IN GEORGIA . . . . .	37
V. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS . . . . .	47
APPENDIX	
A. ADDENDA TO CHAPTER II . . . . .	54
B. ADDENDA TO CHAPTER III . . . . .	56
REFERENCES CITED . . . . .	65
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	72

## LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	The Structure of Place Images . . . . .	54
2.	The Structure of Hometown Images . . . . .	55

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. City of Atlanta Study Area Census Tracts . . . . .	8
2. A Migration Model . . . . .	25

## SUMMARY

As defined in this thesis, migration is the movement of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas searching for a job. The focus of the thesis will be narrowed to migration from rural Georgia to the metropolitan Atlanta area.

The migration of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas searching for a job is a complex process which creates four social or economic problems in the United States. The specific problems created affect the individual migrants and the receiving population as a whole. These include psychological stress, and underemployment among migrants, blight in the urban areas receiving migrants and a general lack of information concerning the migration process available for Georgia's policy makers.

However, many benefits can be credited to the migration process. Based on a comparison between benefits and problems associated with rural to urban migration, this thesis makes the conclusion that the migration process has favorable social and economic effects on migrants and on the urban communities receiving these migrants. This conclusion is based on the income benefits to migrants, labor force mobility benefits, and generally improved social and educational opportunities available to migrants in urban areas. Through appropriate state planning policy, any problems associated with rural to urban migration can be eliminated. The task of planning policy is to eliminate the problems associated with migration of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas

without discouraging this migration process as a means of improving the economic and social characteristics of migrants.

Existing state, city and private agency policies assisting migrants in the Atlanta area were evaluated and policy recommendations were developed as a means of eliminating the four major economic and social problems created by rural to urban migration.



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Migration, as defined in this thesis, is the movement of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas searching for a job. A low income family is defined as a family with an income less than 80 percent of the median income in the family's county of residence. This thesis will focus on migration from rural Georgia to the metropolitan Atlanta area. Rural Georgia is defined as those counties in Georgia which are not part of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). This type of migration is a complex process which creates many social and economic problems in the United States. These problems include psychological stress and underemployment among migrants, blight in the urban areas receiving migrants and a general lack of information concerning the migration process available for Georgia's policy makers. These problems will be evaluated in the "Definition of Problem" section of this chapter.

Rural to urban migration also creates many problems in rural Georgia. Population growth and economic growth are highly dependent on each other. It would be inaccurate to say one comes before the other, but their interdependence is unquestionable. When the population is declining, the economy will also decline; similarly, increases in population or in economic activity go hand in hand. Thus, in areas of Georgia where the population has declined or remained relatively stagnant, the economy in the area has also remained stagnant or expanded at a much slower rate than economic growth in the state as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

Also, the community invests in the future of its young people by providing them an education. When these young people move after receiving their education, the community loses the opportunity to receive a return on their educational investment since the young people will not contribute their skill or tax dollars to the community paying for their education.

Niles Hansen believes "the selective nature of out-migration tends to denude lagging areas of future leadership; the entrenched ineptitude of lagging areas is discouraging to future leaders."<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, out-migration of unemployed or low income people from a rural area will increase the average income of the area and reduce competition for jobs.

However, the benefits received by people who migrate from rural to urban areas outweigh the rural problems created by the migration process. Some evidence indicates that a large majority of people who migrate to urban areas, even to urban ghettos, are better off economically and socially than if they had remained in a rural area. In his book, The South Goes North, Robert Coles noted poor people leaving Appalachia for a large northern city were able to earn small amounts of money and survive in urban ghettos; on the other hand, in Appalachia they might go for weeks without even seeing a dollar bill and had to depend on the land for food and shelter.<sup>3</sup> Even though life in the ghetto might be very unpleasant, poor people were usually able to find day work and made enough money to keep their families fed. The economic benefits of rural to urban migration for the migrant were also analyzed by Wertheimer. Wertheimer estimated in 1970 the annual return to a south to north migrant at age 20 to be approximately \$6,600 using a 10 percent discount

rate. Annual return for migration from a rural to an urban area of less than 250,000 population was approximately \$600, while the return for migration from a rural to an urban area greater than 250,000 population was \$1,100.<sup>4</sup>

According to Niles Hansen, concern for some areas experiencing out-migration is unwarranted. For instance, the greatest acceleration in the growth rate of non-metropolitan income in the past 20 years has been in the Great Plains area of the United States, a high out-migration region.<sup>5</sup> All agricultural sections of the United States, including the Great Plains section and the South Eastern section have been experiencing a transformation of agricultural technology which boosts farm income and production while reducing the number of acres farmed and the amount of labor required.

Migration to an urban area might also benefit an unemployed or low income person socially. Life in an urban setting might provide migrants with broadened opportunities and abolish cultural barriers they might have faced in their previous environment. Even the former home towns benefit because urban migrants send home information and knowledge concerning new social trends, scientific discoveries and even job opportunities in the urban areas.<sup>6</sup>

Migration and labor force mobility are often given credit for the successful growth of industrialization in the United States. In order to meet manpower needs, industries must either train local people or hire people trained in other places. The second alternative is more desirable for industry. The interchangeability of the labor force created by high migration rates is also an advantage to the economy. Frequent movers al-

so buy various products more frequently than non-movers. New curtains and carpeting are examples.<sup>7</sup> Society as a whole in the United States benefits from migration since it encourages interregional circulation which helps develop lagging parts of the nation.<sup>8</sup> According to Vance Parkard, migration is an advantage to the individual by providing him with the following:

... a broadened personality, a means of escape, new friends, a new zest of life, economic opportunities, a challenge that promotes personal growth, aid in the preparation of a professional career, closer family ties, more equalitarian marriages, and overall variety of life.<sup>9</sup>

In conclusion, while evidence indicates that the migration process has generally positive economic and social effects on migrants, these effects may not always be positive for each migrant, and the migration process involves specific difficulties for all migrants.

Before policies for assisting migrants can be established, decision makers must first understand the decision process a migrant goes through in choosing one location or another. This question will be addressed in Chapter II.

Chapters III and IV will review State policies in Georgia designed to make the migration process successful for the migrant. Based on eliminating any flaws in these State policies, Chapter V will present a comprehensive set of State policy recommendations for economic and social assistance to unemployed or low income migrants.

#### Definition of Migration

As defined in this thesis, migration is the movement of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas searching for a job. The

focus of this thesis is migration from rural Georgia to the metropolitan Atlanta area.

Rural to urban migration in Georgia, as in other states, has occurred at a rapid rate since the 1930's. Atlanta has experienced an 83 percent increase in population since 1930.<sup>10</sup> Many rural counties in Georgia have experienced steady declines in population over the past 40 years as a result of out-migration.<sup>11</sup> These migrants have a wide range of economic and social characteristics and a wide range of reasons or objectives for migrating.

There are an estimated 300,000 migratory farm workers in the United States.<sup>12</sup> Skilled working class and union workers are the least likely to migrate, while management executives and laborers frequently migrate. Union and skilled workers tend to have substantial job security and usually have a home and other financial investments in a community. The age group most common among migrants is the 25 to 34 age group. This age span is lowering as more young people leave home and begin to migrate. At present, one fourth of all movers are in the 18 to 24 age group.<sup>14</sup> There are many reasons or objectives for migrating. A person may migrate for various personal reasons like retirement, climate preference, entertainment facilities, divorce and flight from oppression or catastrophe, but usually migration has economic (job related) motives. Approximately 40 percent of the estimated 20 million heads of households who move each year do so to take a specific job, and 12 percent move to look for work.<sup>15</sup>

Many more people migrate each year to receive job training in hopes of being able to find a better job. Most vocational job training is in larger cities, so most rural unemployed people must commute a long dis-

tance to class or move to another city. This encourages rural unemployed people to migrate out of rural areas into urban areas where job training is provided.

This section has discussed the various types of migration occurring in the United States and some of the reasons or objectives for migrating. As will be discussed in the "Definition of Problem" section, the migration process creates social and economic problems for our society and for individual migrants. This thesis is concerned with migrants who move because they are looking for a job and will address the actual results of migration of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas. These people will have already decided to migrate to a new location as a result of their unemployment or low income.

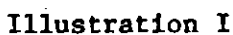
#### Definition of Problem

The migration of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas searching for a job is a complex process which creates four social or economic problems in the United States. The specific problems created affect either the individual migrants or the receiving population as a whole. These problems are psychological stress and underemployment among migrants, blight in the urban areas receiving migrants, and a general lack of information concerning the migration process. Analysis will be based on census tract information concerning migrants, evaluation of various theories presented by migration experts, and upon visual observation and spot interviews among migrants in a low income neighborhood in Atlanta characterized by a high concentration of low income or unemployed rural to urban migrants.

The particular study area analyzed in this section is within a U. S. Census Bureau designated 56 tract low income area. (See Illustration 1). In addition to its low income characteristics, the area also has a high percentage of migrants; this thesis assumes these two factors are directly proportional to each other. The assumption is also made that problems encountered by low income migrants in the study area are also characteristic of problems faced by low income migrants in any section of Metropolitan Atlanta, and that any policy recommendations will effect all migrants equally.

The "Census Employment Survey" was conducted in a 56 census tract area of Atlanta, Georgia, as part of the 1970 Census of Population and Housing. The area was identified as having substantial numbers of persons with low incomes. Identification of the survey area was based on previous identification of low income areas during the 1960 Census and on recent socio-economic data (e.g., area boundaries, and data pertaining to welfare programs, juvenile delinquency, illegitimate births, and housing conditions). After initial designation of the study area, comments and suggestions were solicited from local experts including the local person responsible for census tracts, the city planning commission and various agency representatives in the Atlanta area.<sup>16</sup>

The total persons 16 years old or older in the 56 tract study area was 131,619. Of these, 109,056, or 82.9 percent were black, and 22,287, or 16.9 percent were white.<sup>17</sup> Of the total population, 9,959 migrated to Atlanta from a small or medium size city or from open country or a farm in the south since 1965. Of these, 7,053, or 71 percent were black, and 2,917, or 29 percent were white.<sup>18</sup>



City of Atlanta Study Area Census Tracts



Since whites made up 16.9 percent of the overall population in the area and 29 percent of the people migrating to the Atlanta area since 1965, whites constitute a greater proportion of recent migrants than do blacks. Recent migrants comprise 13.1 percent of the white population and 6.5 percent of the black population.<sup>19</sup>

Tracts 9, 19, 20, 21 and 27 are the 5 tracts within the 56 tract area with the highest percentages of migrants and will be evaluated in the remainder of Chapter I. These 5 tracts are the only tracts in the 56 tract area which are over 50 percent white.<sup>20</sup> Of the 2,917 white persons migrating into the 56 tract study area since 1965, 1,038, or 36 percent of the persons migrated into the 5 census tracts which are predominately white. The remaining 1,879 white in-migrants were dispersed among the other 51 census tracts.<sup>21</sup> These figures indicate a tendency among in-migrating whites to concentrate in predominately white areas.

Within the 56 tract study area, tracts 23, 24, 25, 38, 83.01, 83.02, 84, 85, 86.01, 86.02, and 87.01 are 98.4 percent black.<sup>22</sup> This area contains 43 percent of all the blacks migrating into the 56 tract area since 1965.<sup>23</sup> These figures indicate an even stronger tendency among blacks than among whites who migrate to the 56 tract area to concentrate in racially segregated areas. The tendency toward concentration among white and black rural to urban migrants is probably a result of the influence by friends and relatives who have previously migrated into the area. The influence of friends and relatives will be further discussed in Chapter II.

The average number of persons per family in the five tract area which is predominately white is 1.80 people per family. This low ratio

is indicative of predominately young inhabitants because young families have fewer children.<sup>24</sup>

Census tracts 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 are located immediately north of the 56 tract study area. Only tract 13 has more than 400 blacks.<sup>25</sup> Visual observation of these tracts indicates a large number of young, unemployed, white, low income people;<sup>26</sup> these characteristics imply a large number of people who have recently migrated to Atlanta. Analysis of census tract information substantiates the observation. Four thousand eight hundred two, or 28 percent of the 17,227 persons 5 years old and older living in tracts 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 were living outside the Atlanta SMSA in 1965, and 3,561, or 20 percent of the 17,227 persons were living outside the Atlanta SMSA and in the south in 1965.<sup>27</sup>

The employment characteristics identified in the 56 tract "Census Employment Survey" cannot be directly applied to tracts 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 since they are not in the 56 tract area; however, due to the proximity of these 5 tracts to the study area and similar housing and population characteristics between the two adjoining groups of census tracts based on visual observation, the author has assumed that economic and employment characteristics between the two groups of census tracts are similar.

Based on census tract data and City of Atlanta information concerning social and economic characteristics in Atlanta, specific census tracts have been identified as having a heavy concentration of rural to urban migrants. These migrants tend to experience higher rates of alcoholism, underemployment and substandard housing conditions.

### Psychological Problem

The psychological effects of migration can be detrimental to some people. Donald Bogue, a well known demographer, theorized, "Migrants are more prone to suffer from mental diseases, particularly schizophrenia, than non-migrants."<sup>28</sup> Thus, Bogue hypothesized migration and not the specific migrant's background is the cause of mental stress among migrants. Bogue said the lack of a supportive population, a hostile receiving population, or dramatic social changes are the causes of high levels of mental stress among migrants.

Alcoholism is a major psychological problem characteristic among migrants to urban areas. This problem is indicated by visual observation and spot interviews with agency representatives located in the 5 tract study area.

Three major alcoholic treatment agencies have offices located in the north central section of Atlanta corresponding to the 56 tract low income study area. The Atlanta Recovery Center, Inc., sponsored by the United Methodist Church, maintains an Alcoholic Detoxification Center on Boulevard Avenue in northern Atlanta.<sup>30</sup> The Atlanta Union Mission maintains a Rescue Mission for men on Ellis Street and a Rescue Mission for Women on Ponce De Leon Avenue. These centers are also located in north-central Atlanta in the 56 tract study area.<sup>31</sup> Finally, the Salvation Army operates the men's Social Service Center on Marietta Street in North Central Atlanta.<sup>32</sup> The various alcoholic treatment centers are concentrated in the north central Atlanta area because most alcoholic transients move immediately into the north central neighborhood or move into the north central area after locating the alcoholic treatment facilities.<sup>33</sup>

Ellen Bussey, in The Flight From Rural Poverty - How Nations

Cope, said:

The individual loses his identity and the city, in depriving him of a sense of belonging, creates insecurities which manifest themselves in anxiety, alienation and mental disorders; crime and juvenile delinquency are disproportionately urban because of the lack of group controls that tend to exist in rural communities.<sup>34</sup>

As Bussey mentioned, higher crime rates in urban areas may be caused by a lack of the group controls existing in rural communities. Many urban problems can be indirectly linked to the rural influx over the past twenty years. When migrants move to an area where they have no friends or relatives, Bussey hypothesized, they lose the social or moral controls these friends or relatives can exert.

#### Underemployment Problem

Dwyane Walls did extensive research into the migration from the rural south to urban areas of the north and the harmful effects migration has had on urban areas. Walls concluded in The Chicken Bone Special that "...migration is directly or indirectly a basic factor in many of our nations deepest problems: hunger, poverty, social unrest and personal alienation."<sup>35</sup> These problems can primarily be attributed to the inability of migrants to find jobs after migration to urban areas and the lack of preparation or planning on the part of the receiving population to provide for the basic needs of these migrants. Visual observation of the 5 census tract area (tracts 9, 19, 20, 21, 27) supports the findings of Walls. This neighborhood appears to have a high degree of idle or unemployed inhabitants. A high level of unemployment could indicate recent migration to Atlanta.

The "New Atlanta Poverty Area", a 60 census tract portion of Central Atlanta identified as a high unemployment area, includes tracts 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 as well as 9, 19, 20, 21 and 27. Unemployment for the 60 tract area in January 1976 was 15.5 percent compared to an Atlanta-wide unemployment rate of 12.9 percent. As the percentages indicate, the 60 tract area, including the various tracts previously identified for analysis as high in-migration areas, is characterized by higher than average unemployment.<sup>36</sup>

#### Urban Blight Problem

Another major urban problem associated with the migration process is the urban slum. Urban blight is not caused by migrants but rather attracts unemployed migrants who are poor and must seek the low rent characteristic of urban slums. By concentrating in urban slums, unemployed migrants cause over-crowding and contribute to further neighborhood deterioration.

Three specific measures indicate above average housing deterioration in tracts 9, 19, 20, 21 and 27. These measures include structural condition, over-crowding (1.01 or more persons per room) and disproportionate rent (gross rent greater than 25 percent of income).

The City of Atlanta Research Division maintains a computerized record of standard, substandard, and dilapidated housing units in the Atlanta area. Statistics are maintained for each census tract. In tracts 9, 19, 20, 21 and 27, the percentage of standard housing ranges from 41.9 percent in tract 9 to 100 percent standard in tract 27.<sup>37</sup> The 41 percent standard figure in tract 9 is compared to an Atlanta wide average of 78 percent standard.<sup>38</sup>

Migrants often choose a particular migration destination because they have friends or relatives in the area. These friends or relatives may have migrated to the area recently and probably live in a low income neighborhood. When the new migrant moves to town he often moves in with his friends or relatives, thus adding to the over-crowded conditions in the neighborhood. This large concentration of low income or unemployed people creates an attitude of depression among residents in the neighborhood and gives the neighborhood the "urban ghetto" label.

Overcrowding is also a sign of urban blight. Within the 56 tract low income study area, approximately 16.3 percent of the housing units are overcrowded (1.01 or more persons per room). This is compared to an overcrowding rate of 4.4 percent in the remaining 56 tracts within the City of Atlanta. In tracts 9, 19, 20, 21 and 27 the overcrowding percentage is 7.4 percent.<sup>39</sup> The low percentage of overcrowding in the five tract area is partially explained by the fact that recent migrant households are small.

Urban blight in a particular neighborhood tends to be higher when the residents in the area pay over 25 percent of their income for rent. Within the 56 tract low income study area, 43 percent of the people living in rental housing pay over 25 percent of their income for rent. This is compared to only 31 percent above 25 percent of income in the remaining 56 tracts in the City of Atlanta. In tracts 9, 19, 20, 21 and 27, 44 percent of the people living in rental housing pay over 25 percent of their income for rent.<sup>40</sup>

#### Information Problem

A fourth problem associated with the rural to urban migration pro-

cess is the lack of information available to Georgia State policy makers. Very little information is available and no model exists for policy makers concerning where migrants come from, why they migrate and the actual numbers of those migrating. This is a serious problem because state policies should be based on a thorough analysis of this type of information in order to best serve the needs of the migrants and the communities into which they move.

#### Problem Summary

The migration of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas searching for a job creates many social and economic problems. These problems affect the migrant, the rural area and the urban area. However, many benefits can be credited to the migration process. Based on a comparison between benefits and problems associated with rural to urban migration, this thesis concludes that the migration process has net favorable social and economic effects on migrants and on the urban communities receiving these migrants. This conclusion is based on the income benefits to migrants, labor force mobility benefits, and generally improved social and educational opportunities available to migrants in urban areas. Through appropriate state planning policy, any problems associated with rural to urban migration can be eliminated. The task of planning policy is to eliminate the problems without discouraging migration as a means of improving the economic and social characteristics of migrants. State policies are also needed which assist rural areas, primarily through economic development programs. However, this aspect of the migration process will not be evaluated in this thesis.

### Purpose of Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to develop a comprehensive set of state policies designed to eliminate the various problems associated with migration without discouraging migration as a means of improving the economic and social characteristics of migrants.

### Methodology

Methodology used in this thesis will include correspondence with various state and federal agencies and officials, research of the literature on migration and detailed evaluation of specific policies in Georgia. Georgia was chosen after correspondence with 40 states and collection of data pertaining to migration policies from the states. Georgia has a substantial amount of data and official documents available for analysis and has relatively well established state planning programs.

Chapter II examines the literature and will draw conclusions to the questions of why people migrate and why they choose a particular urban area. Chapters III and IV examine existing state policies with particular emphasis on Georgia State policy, and Chapter V will develop policy recommendations.



## CHAPTER II

### WHY MIGRANTS CHOOSE A PARTICULAR URBAN AREA

Before policies for assisting migrants can be established, decision makers must first understand the decision process a migrant goes through in initially deciding to migrate and in choosing one location over another. Although there are many reasons why people migrate, this thesis is concerned only with those unemployed or low income people who migrate from rural to urban areas searching for jobs. The decision process these migrants go through in choosing a particular destination has only recently been carefully evaluated. This chapter examines the literature on the reasons for migration and establishes a model for establishing these motivations based on existing theories.

There are four basic factors affecting the decision by low income or unemployed people to migrate from a rural to an urban area and the choice of a particular migration destination: push factors (factors at the place of origin), pull factors (factors at the place of destination), intermediate factors (factors existing between the origin and the destination), and personal factors (kin ties).

#### Push Factors

Push factors affect the decision to migrate at the place of origin. In rural agricultural regions where agricultural mechanization results in high rates of unemployment, people are encouraged to migrate not so much by the appeal of other locations as by the negative aspects of the ex-

isting location. In a sense, the unemployed person is being pushed into moving by the undesirable factors of his existing location. Bussey emphasized the push factors causing many low income or unemployed people to leave unfavorable conditions in rural areas and move to urban areas.<sup>41</sup> Bogue also argued that out-migration rates are directly related to unemployment rates.<sup>42</sup>

The primary emphasis of push factor analysis of the migration process is the influence of a poor rural economy on a low income or unemployed rural resident. Goodrich, for instance, hypothesized "The flow of migration is highly responsive to economic opportunities with large outflows from areas of economic hardship and submarginal economic income."<sup>43</sup>

#### Pull Factors

Pull factors draw the migrant to a particular destination. These can be any characteristics of a particular location which attract or "pull" migrants.

The most frequent form of attraction or pull is economic opportunity. John Clarke theorized in Population Geography that the selection of a particular migration destination "depends more upon conditions at the destination than upon those at the place of origin."<sup>44</sup> Samuel Stouffer argues that the rate of migration from city A to city B is directly proportional to the opportunities at city B.<sup>45</sup> Stouffer introduced "Economic Man" to the migration literature and theorized that a migrant realizes the cost of moving and will, therefore, stop moving when he finds desirable opportunities (housing, employment, etc.). The theo-

ry also argues that migrants choose a particular location based on the availability of jobs or the potentials for higher income. This theory assumes migrants are economically rational and have complete knowledge of all potential locations and all costs involved in migrating.

Research by Niles M. Hansen supports Stoffer's "Economic Man" theory. In a location preference study conducted by Hansen in Kentucky among high school students, respondents were asked if they would move to get a job; and, if they would consider moving, their locational preferences. They were to choose between intermediate size cities within their home state (Lexington and Louisville) and large cities such as Chicago and Detroit. (No large cities were located in Kentucky.) Although students who preferred to move preferred an intermediate size city by a ratio of over 2 to 1, U. S. Census statistics indicate a heavy level of rural to large metropolitan migration over the 1950 to 1970 period; this rural to urban migration is continuing into the 1970's. This indicates a conflict between the location preferences of potential migrants and actual migration destinations of many migrants. One explanation of why more people migrate to larger cities, even though they prefer the intermediate size city, is the increased economic diversity of larger cities and the wider range of job opportunities this diversity brings to migrants. According to Hansen, this tendency to migrate to metropolitan areas in spite of a preference for intermediate cities points out the importance of economic factors in the migration destination decision.<sup>46</sup>

Unemployed people who already have training or skills often move to other locations hoping to find jobs. The number of jobs available increases with the economic diversity of the location and economic diver-

sity increases with the size of the urban area. For this reason, many unemployed people who migrate to find employment move to large metropolitan areas.

#### Intermediate Factors

Intermediate factors affect the migration process between the origin and the destination. These factors cannot be directly attributed to the potential migrant's present location nor to potential destinations.

The primary intermediate factors are distance and cost. The choice of a particular destination is affected by the distances to various locations. The earliest studies in migration hypothesized that distance was the primary factor rural migrants used in choosing an urban location. Ravenstien's first law of migration argued that the migration rate will decrease as distance from a particular city increases.<sup>47</sup>

Zipf suggested in his gravity model that the attractiveness of two places for the flow of population between them can be expressed as a simple inverse function of distance. Zipf's theory is also known as the Inverse Distance Law.<sup>48</sup>

Stouffer refined this theory with his "intervening opportunities" theory. Intervening opportunities, Stouffer hypothesized, are economic or social opportunities available to a migrant in various locations. According to Stouffer, the rate of migration from city A to city B is inversely related to the number of intervening opportunities presented to a migrant between the two cities.<sup>49</sup>

#### Personal Factors

Economic opportunity theory assumes migrants have perfect know-

ledge concerning job opportunities in various locations. Although some unemployed migrants do choose a particular migration destination based on actual job opportunities, many migrants choose a location primarily because they have friends or relatives in the urban area. The moral and financial support of friends or relatives can be very important to an unemployed person. These friends or relatives can also help migrants find specific jobs since their knowledge about opportunities in the area will be much greater than the migrant's knowledge.

Recent migration studies emphasize behavioral factors and suggest a migration destination is chosen not only on the basis of economic considerations, but, more importantly, on the basis of the knowledge a migrant has of various locations. Wolpert introduced the concept that a migrant places a value or utility on his present location and on all other alternative locations of which he is aware.<sup>50</sup> Based on a comparison of various place utilities, the migrant chooses a migration destination.

The place utility model was recently tested by Stephen S. White. White identified the criteria a migrant uses in developing his personal image of a possible migration destination. White viewed migrants as satisficers, or people seeking to satisfy personal objectives, and rejected the rational or economic man approach. According to White,

The ability of a satisficer to make ideal locational decisions is not just a response to the objective economic environment but also a reaction based on the information the individual possesses and his ability to use this information to satisfy personal objectives.<sup>51</sup>

The information referred to is primarily obtained through the kin-ties of friends and relatives. White's model was based on an open

ended residential preference survey. (See Appendix A). White's survey was a random sample of the entire state population, rather than just people who were about to move and, therefore, is seriously weakened for analytical use. Since this thesis is concerned with low income or unemployed people who are about to move, a survey of the entire population is of limited use. As Peterson pointed out, migrants are not a random sample of the population;<sup>52</sup> they are young adults, and in the case of this thesis, unemployed or low income. However, the survey does yield some insight into the factors comprising a migration decision.

Survey results showed a tendency among respondents to like or dislike 24 locations other than their present home town based on size, visual appearance, or other general impressions of the cities.<sup>53</sup>

This is contrary to rational man theories which emphasize the importance of economic factors in choosing a particular migration location. Economic factors would probably have been more important had the sample been limited to people who are unemployed or have a low income.<sup>54</sup>

Unlike the alternative location evaluations, home town evaluations by the respondents did not include generalizations such as size or visual appearance. Respondents probably had a much higher degree of knowledge concerning their home town and therefore were not forced to reply based on vague impressions or generalizations. In doing so, they were also identifying factors which were more vital to a successful migration. White concluded from this analysis that place utility can be based not only on economic factors but also on "vague mental impressions such as size and visual appearance as the degree of knowledge decreased."<sup>55</sup>

Although White's sample has limited usefulness in evaluating the

location destination choice of unemployed or low income people, it can be used to emphasize the influence of knowledge on the decision to choose a particular migration destination.

The importance of non-economic factors in establishing place utility is supported in a survey conducted by Larry L. Casey, Georgia State University. In his thesis, Casey hypothesized "a state boundary is a significant factor in establishing residential preferences."<sup>56</sup> In his survey, Casey questioned high school seniors in Northwestern Alabama, Southeastern Tennessee and Northwestern Georgia. All the students were asked to evaluate various cities in each of the three states. The questionnaire divided respondents into "stayers" and "movers" on the basis of whether or not the graduating student planned to stay in their home town or move to a new location. Stayers were those students preferring to remain in their home town after graduation, while movers expressed an interest in moving to another city after graduation. Location preferences for stayers decreased rapidly as distance from their home city location increased. Casey found movers preferences increased with distance from the home town but only within the home state. Cities outside the home state received low preference rates from movers as well as from stayers.<sup>57</sup> Economic factors were insignificant to these survey respondents, (stayers and movers), when establishing location preferences. Their preferences were heavily influenced by State boundaries and other vague mental factors. The new students preferring an out of state location were basing their preference on a higher degree of knowledge concerning a specific job opportunity.<sup>58</sup> This supports White's contention that as a migrant's degree of knowledge decreases concerning various migration destinations,

his reliance on irrational factors increases.

### A Migration Model

In the absence of conclusive research measuring the relative strength of the four factors under particular conditions,<sup>59</sup> the basis for policy must include each factor. The following model, which is based on hypothesized relationships among the four factors, is proposed as an interval approach to policy and research. (See Illustration 2).

Four basic situations occur in the migration process: weak push/weak pull, strong push/weak pull, weak push/strong pull and strong push/strong pull. The actual flow of migration is a dependent variable, dependent on the four basic situations. The push or pull of an existing location or potential destination can be measured by the unemployment rate. Refinements to the model can be made if sufficient data exists to specify unemployment rates by job skill categories.

Besides the effects of the origin and the destination, the influence of intervening opportunities and of personal factors must also be included in a migration model. The importance of intermediate variables such as distance, cost of moving and intermediate job opportunities is inversely proportional to increase in the strength of urban job opportunity pull. The effect of personal factors on the model centers around the degree and quality of information available to migrants. Because the personal factors are independent, the importance of these factors is less predictable than other variables; but for purposes of this model, personal factors are directly proportional to increases in rural to urban migration.



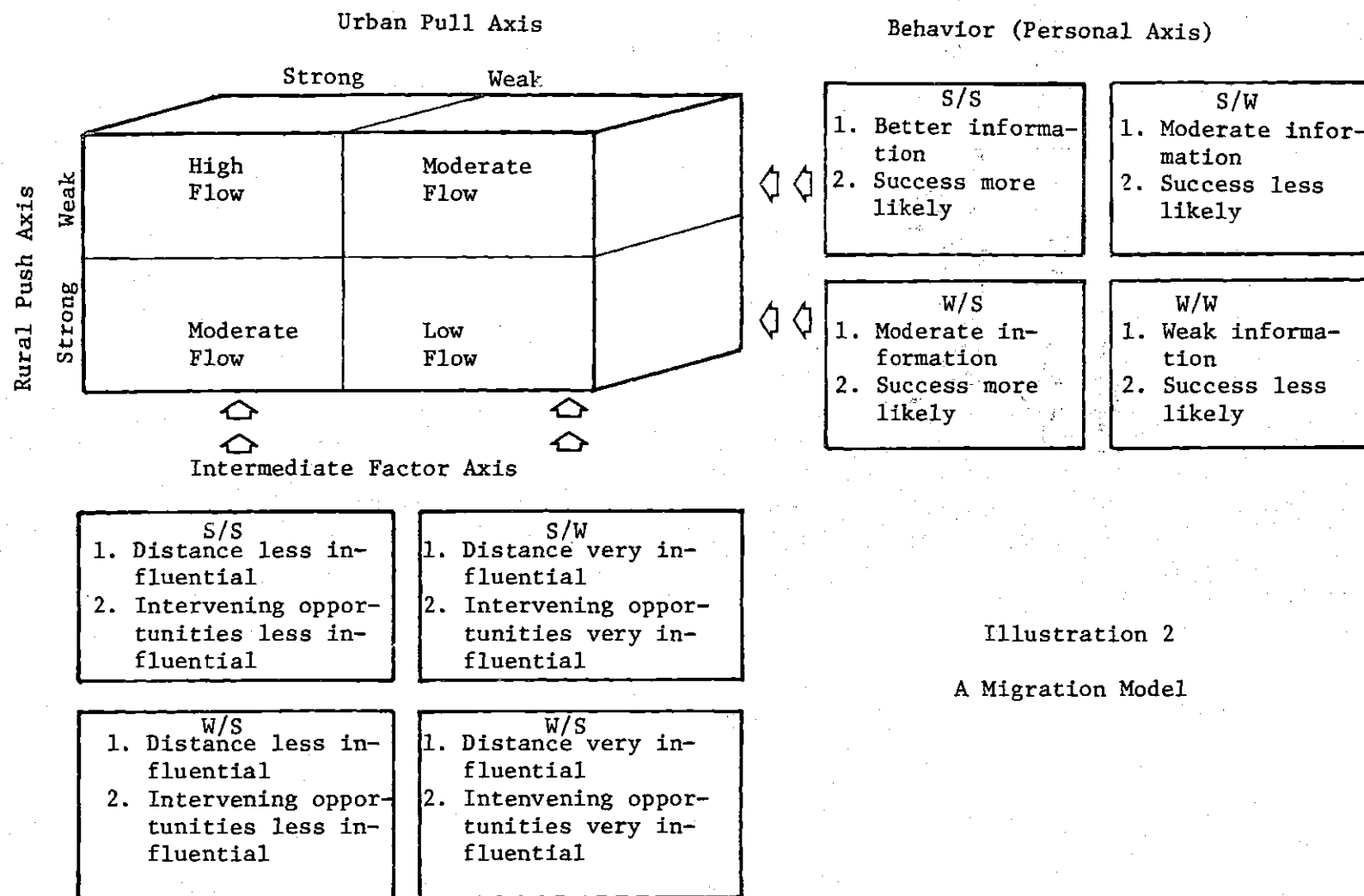


Illustration 2

A Migration Model

### Weak Push/Weak Pull

When the rural push axis is weak and the urban pull axis of migrants is also weak, the flow of migrants from rural to urban areas is likely to be low. Employment rates will be relatively high in rural areas and relatively low in urban areas. On the personal or behavior axis, the quality and amount of information available to rural residents will be limited unless migration flow in the recent past was high. This situation will exist because the primary source of information available to rural residents about urban areas, relatives who have previously migrated to a particular urban area, will not exist. Since the pull of a particular area is primarily related to economic and job opportunities, when pull is low, the availability of jobs will also be low. Rural unemployed or low income people who migrate in this situation have a less likely chance for success; they will have trouble finding a job since they have only limited information and few jobs are available. Also, intermediate factors such as distance or cost of migrating can be highly influential in choosing a migration destination when the urban pull is weak. Migrants will be discouraged from migrating to an urban area when the pull of this urban area is weak and the distance to this urban area is substantial. Also, when the push of the rural area is weak, long distances may be ruled out by a potential migrant.

### Strong Push/Weak Pull

A strong rural push axis accompanied by a weak urban pull axis will result in a moderate level of migration flow from rural to urban areas. In this situation potential migrants are faced with a substantial shortage of jobs in the rural area but are not being strongly pulled by

an urban area with substantial job opportunities. The personal or behavioral axis is characterized by moderate to weak information available to rural residents, since few relatives will be migrating to a particular urban area and transferring job information back home. The limited available information will reduce the chances of a migrant having accurate information and increases the danger that the potential migrant will choose a particular migration destination based on false or limited information and be unsuccessful in finding a job after migrating. Even though the push is strong, since there is only a weak pull to any urban areas, migration flow will be moderate. Since the weak pull is characterized by limited job opportunities, the chance of success for rural residents who migrate will also be limited.

Distance or cost of moving in the strong push/weak pull situation is highly influential since a weak pull by an urban area will discourage long or expensive moves.

#### Weak Push/Strong Pull

When the rural push axis is weak and the urban pull axis is strong, the flow of migrants from rural to urban areas will be moderate. In this situation rural employment rates will be high; at the same time, urban employment rates will also be high. On the personal or behavioral axis moderate information will be available since a small number of friends or relatives will have been pushed or pulled out of the rural area. The accuracy of information will be reduced, but, since opportunities in urban areas will be strong, the chance for successful migration will be high. Since the urban pull is strong in this situation, the importance of intermediate factors will be insignificant unless the distance or cost of

moving is extremely high.

#### Strong Push/Strong Pull

Strong rural push and strong urban pull signify a high rate of rural to urban migration flow. In this situation rural employment rates will be low while urban employment rates will be relatively high. The personal or behavioral axis is characterized by extensive information from friends and relatives. The accuracy is also high, although not required due to the large amount of urban job opportunities available to migrants. Success in finding a job in the urban area after migration is high in this situation. The importance of intermediate factors will also be insignificant in this situation since the urban opportunity pull is so strong, unless the distance or cost of moving is extremely high.

#### Summary

The preceeding model has analyzed the four basic situations which occur in the migration process and the effects of personal or behavioral factors and intermediate factors on these four situations. This model should be used by policy makers to counter the lack of information and lack of data concerning the migration process.

The model, though untested, provides policy makers with a framework for roughly anticipating the magnitude of the flow of rural migrants to urban areas. For instance, the relatively high unemployment rate in Atlanta would tend to diminish the pull this city might normally have on an unemployed or low income person in a rural area. Other limited sources of data currently available to decision makers might be used in conjunction with the model to identify specific urban concentrations of people who have recently migrated from a rural to urban area searching for jobs.

These include Georgia Department of Labor offices and various city and private social service agencies in the Atlanta area.

The following conclusions can be drawn based on analysis of the previous four basic situations:

1. When rural push and urban pull are strong, rural to urban migration rates are likely to be high.
2. When rural push is strong and urban pull is weak or when rural push is weak and urban pull is strong, rural to urban migration rates are likely to be moderate.
3. When rural push is weak and urban pull is weak, rural to urban migration rates are likely to be low.
4. When urban pull is strong and rural push is weak or strong, success in finding a job in an urban area is more likely for the rural to urban migrant.
5. When urban pull is weak and rural push is weak or strong, success in finding a job in an urban area is less likely for the rural to urban migrant.

### CHAPTER III

#### EXISTING POLICY IN GEORGIA ASSISTING RURAL TO URBAN MIGRANTS

Chapter III examines existing state, local and private agency policies designed to assist unemployed or low income people who migrate from rural Georgia to Atlanta searching for jobs.

##### State Policy

Many of the programs of Georgia State government indirectly assist the particular group of people being considered in this thesis in that the programs are designed to serve or benefit the entire population. However, there are three general categories of programs that bear directly on the migration process. These three program categories are the Economic Development Program, selected programs of the Georgia Department of Education, and selected programs of the Georgia Department of Labor. Only these three general categories of programs will be evaluated.<sup>60</sup>

##### Economic Development Program

The Economic Development Program has a basic general goal "to provide a system which maximizes the economic well-being of individuals, organizations and communities within the State."<sup>61</sup>

Georgia has adopted a "regional" approach to planning for implementing economic development in the state. This regional approach includes sub-state regions as well as multi-state regions. Georgia has determined that a regional approach to economic development not only improves industrial potential, but also improves the living environment

of the states' people.<sup>62</sup> Georgia has joined two multi-state regions: the Appalachian Regional Development Program (ARDP) and the Coastal Plains Regional Development Program (CPRDP). The ARDP includes the northern one-fourth of the state while the CPRDP includes the southern one-half of Georgia. The middle section of the state has been designated as the Piedmont Planning Region by Georgia. Georgia planning policy is based on these three regions. By tying two of the state's three Economic Development Programs to these two federally financed multi-state regions, Georgia has gained a broader planning perspective, extensive research facilities, and a powerful tool for encouraging compliance by local governments in implementing various projects.<sup>63</sup>

Because the Piedmont region is not a part of a federally financed multi-state region, there is a lack of public investment in this region. State goals and objectives for this region do not have federal funds available for implementation by local government. For this reason, Georgia is currently expanding the Coastal Plains Region to include all the Piedmont Region. By expanding membership in the federally financed multi-state region, all sections of Georgia will have equal opportunities to receive federal funding for implementing statewide Economic Development goals and objectives.

Economic Development is divided into three program categories: industrial development, community development and manpower development.<sup>64</sup> Each program category is further divided into various program areas and related program objectives which are described in Appendix B.

Industrial Development. The State of Georgia has a strong emphasis on industrial development. Georgia's Industrial Development Program

category has four major program areas: economic growth, science and technology, agricultural industry and mineral industry. The various industrial development programs cover a wide range of industry categories and are primarily directed toward rural industrial development.<sup>65</sup>

Community Development. The second program category designed to promote economic development is the Community Development Program. Community Development in Georgia is limited to depressed areas of the state. This policy is followed by the state because larger cities such as Atlanta have a substantial number of private interests continually recruiting industry and do not need state technical assistance in this matter. Rural areas and smaller cities however, do not have private involvement in community development of this type and need state assistance. The objective of the program is "to improve the economic viability of the underdeveloped areas of the state."<sup>66</sup>

Manpower Development. According to the State Investment Plan, the purpose of various state sponsored and administered manpower development programs is to "enable the unemployed and underemployed to participate fully and to compete in the labor market."<sup>67</sup> Both federal and state sponsored programs are currently available which are designed to directly or indirectly assist unemployed or low income people, including those who have recently migrated from rural to urban areas in Georgia.

The Georgia Department of Human Resources administers a wide range of manpower development programs. These programs are designed to serve the entire Georgia population; in this respect the programs serve rural to urban migrants. No programs specifically serve rural to urban migrants as a specific problem group.



#### Department of Education Programs

Georgia has developed a system of 29 Vocational-Technical Training Schools enrolling over 100,000 students annually. Curricula are coordinated with job opportunities in the area. As part of the Statewide Vocational-Technical Training School System, the Georgia Department of Education has developed the Quick Start Training Program. This program coordinates student training with specific industry demands. The state absorbs the total cost of recruiting and training employees for potential industries through this program.<sup>68</sup>

The Department of Education also operates an Adult Education Unit, designed to provide adults with basic education (grades 1-8) and with high school equivalency certificates issued on the basis of scores made on the General Educational Development Tests. In order to participate in the basic education program, the applicant must be 18 years old or over and a Georgia citizen.

#### Department of Labor Programs

The Georgia Department of Labor is involved in numerous manpower development programs designed to assist unemployed or underemployed people in finding jobs and in developing skills. The Department maintains branch employment service offices throughout the state. In Atlanta, a job service center is located in the downtown area and another office in south Atlanta specializes in professional, clerical and sales employment services. The Department of Labor has a claims center on Marietta Street in Atlanta in the vicinity of the 5 census tract study area previously discussed in Chapter I.<sup>69</sup>

The Georgia Department of Labor is the local administrator of

various U.S. Department of Labor Employment Programs, the source of most Georgia D.O.L. funds. Level of funding is established by a point system in which points are awarded for the number of people placed, veterans placed and type of jobs being filled.<sup>70</sup>

The Department uses various testing and counseling techniques to aid in the placement of clients in suitable jobs. Special interest groups are given direct consideration by the Department of Labor; these groups include veterans, youths, old workers, handicapped, minority people and people with minimal amounts of education.<sup>71</sup>

The Department of Labor has a policy of promoting closer cooperation between the Department and various employers in the community in order to increase the number and quality of job openings listed with the Departments' branch offices. A special project, the Georgia Employer Service Improvement Program, was initiated to improve and expand the working relationship between local Department of Labor staff and local employers and to identify specific local unemployment problems.<sup>72</sup>

The Department of Labor has adopted a policy that human resource development should be shifted away from urban and core city population concentrations toward rural areas. The department contends that by directing their primary efforts toward the core city, urban-city problems are compounded by encouraging more migration. The department also contends that core-city emphasis has an eroding effect on rural areas. The greatest manpower development needs are in the rural areas of the state, according to the Department of Labor. The Department contends that the shift from urban to rural concentration of effort is "greatly hindered by the continuing demand from the urban areas for the maintenance of a high

level of support for manpower programs."<sup>73</sup>

A major rural problem identified by the Department of Labor is rural delivery of services to needy people. The Department is experimenting with various rural service delivery systems such as joint agency programs and regional administration of various services. The "Georgia Rural Area Manpower Program" makes services available to all residents of an area through local community facilities and the Cooperative Extension Service on a county of residence basis.<sup>74</sup>

#### City of Atlanta Programs

The City of Atlanta provides services directly to in-migrating unemployed and low income people primarily through two agencies: the Atlanta Manpower Office and the Atlanta Department of Community and Human Development. Various other city agencies provide indirect assistance to migrants as a portion of the total Atlanta population.<sup>75</sup>

#### Privately Sponsored Programs

Various private organizations provide social and economic services to rural to urban unemployed or low income migrants in Atlanta. These agencies include Travelers Aid of Metropolitan Atlanta, Inc., the Salvation Army, Atlanta Union Mission and the Savannah Street Neighborhood House.<sup>76</sup>

All four agencies provided migrants and alcoholics with lodging, food counseling and referral to various State training and counseling programs. The Salvation Army Center requires clients to adopt a specific treatment program and to live in the center before receiving food or counseling assistance. For this reason, most people served by the Salvation

Army have been living in Atlanta a relatively long time and have decided to stop drinking and seek help.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, the Atlanta Recovery Center and the Atlanta Union Mission do not require clients to participate in alcohol treatment programs; people can take advantage of services provided by these agencies without committing themselves to a treatment program and often will live at one of these two centers when first arriving in Atlanta. Most of the people receiving services from the Union Mission and the Recovery Center have recently migrated to Atlanta.<sup>78</sup>

## CHAPTER IV

### EVALUATION OF EXISTING STATE, CITY AND PRIVATE AGENCY POLICIES IN GEORGIA

The previous Chapter explained existing Georgia State, local and private agency policies designed to assist unemployed or low income people who migrate from rural Georgia to Atlanta searching for jobs. Chapter IV will evaluate the potential effectiveness and coverage of the program categories identified in Chapter III.

The combined state, local and private agency policies provide Georgia residents with a broad, comprehensive set of programs for assisting Georgians economically and socially. The various services are designed to help Georgians solve specific problems which have been identified in Chapter I as being common to many unemployed or low income people migrating from rural to urban areas (i.e., psychological stress, unemployment and urban blight). However, three broad problems relating to the effectiveness of state, local and private agencies for solving rural to urban migration problems are common among all the agency policies described in Chapter III. First, while Georgia State policy emphasizes rural industrial development for unemployed people, no social service specifically designed to assist people migrating to Atlanta from rural Georgia has been developed. Second, the various state, city and private agencies fail to identify migrants to Atlanta as a specific client group with specific problems. Finally, available information is limited for Georgia's policy makers concerning where rural to urban migrants come

from, why they migrate, and the actual numbers of those migrating.

- I. Georgia's State agencies primarily emphasize economic assistance in rural areas, largely ignoring the social needs of people who have migrated to Atlanta.

Chapter I described the economic and social problems faced by people who migrate from rural to urban areas. However, state agencies in Georgia focus on economic assistance programs in rural sectors of the state. The following specific problems support this generalization:

1. Georgia State Policy negatively affects the migration of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas.

This conclusion is based on the emphasis in Georgia on industrial development. Industrial development and other economic development programs in Georgia are designed primarily to create jobs. Georgia policy makers assume that jobs created will be filled by unemployed or low-income rural Georgians and will eventually reduce the level of rural to urban migration in Georgia. Georgia policy makers also assume this reduction in rural to urban migration level will eliminate many of the social and economic problems in urban areas.<sup>79</sup>

The Department of Community Development is the state agency designated with the responsibility for promoting industrial development in Georgia. The Department has established a policy of concentrating efforts in the rural portions of the State and relying on the private sector for promoting industrial and economic development in larger urban areas, such as Atlanta.<sup>80</sup> When a private industrial promotion system is not opera-

ting, the state organization will step in and assume the role as local industrial promoter. The exception to this policy is the support given to the Atlanta tourist and convention center industry by the Governor's Office; but most efforts promote the industrial potential of the State as a whole, including Atlanta and other urban areas.<sup>81</sup> By concentrating in rural areas, the Department of Community Development is discouraging rural to urban migration and is ignoring the economic needs of low income or unemployed people who have migrated to an urban area such as Atlanta and are unable to find jobs.

Since economic development policies in Georgia State Government are limited to rural development, unemployed or low income people living in urban areas are not effected by economic gains in rural areas unless they are willing to migrate to the rural areas once again. However, no matter how successful the State's rural development policy, some of the low income or unemployed rural residents will continue to migrate to urban areas for economic and social motives.<sup>82</sup>

In summary, Georgia State Policies aimed at limiting rural to urban migration of unemployed or low income people through various Rural Economic Development Policies do not directly give assistance to those migrants who have gone to various urban areas "in spite of" the states' rural development programs.

2. The Georgia State Policy designed to affect the migration of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas does not consider the influence of personal factors on the decision to migrate.

As Chapter II explained, State policy makers should understand the decision process a migrant goes through in choosing one location over another before establishing policies and programs for assisting migrants. State policy makers in Georgia assume this decision is based solely on economic or rational considerations. None of the irrational factors described in Chapter II are considered by Georgia's policy makers. Many people migrate from rural to urban areas because they receive information from friends or relatives who have already migrated to urban areas concerning various social and potential job opportunities in urban areas.<sup>83</sup> Rural economic development policies adopted by Georgia policy makers assume that migrants have complete and accurate knowledge concerning these rural opportunities and that migrants will invariably make the same rational location destination decisions as the state policy makers. Policy makers also assume that the rural opportunities or jobs they create for unemployed or low income people in rural areas will be more attractive to potential migrants than the various urban opportunities which might attract potential migrants, an assumption which is not always correct.

3. The Coastal Plains Regional Commission and the Appalachian Regional Commission provide no assistance, economically or socially, to people who have migrated from a rural to an urban area.

These two agencies limit funding for economic and social programs to rural areas and small urban areas of Georgia. As was discussed in Chapter III, the two agencies have adopted a policy of concentrating on rural development and assistance to rural residents of Georgia and



ignoring urban portions of the State. The intent of this policy is to discourage migration from rural to urban areas by low income or unemployed people. However, for those rural low income or unemployed people who migrate to urban areas in spite of various rural development programs, CPRDP and ARDP offer no assistance in the larger urban centers in Georgia.<sup>84</sup>

4. The Georgia Department of Education provides low-income or unemployed rural to urban migrants with direct training and job finding assistance.

The statewide Vocational-Technical Training School System, the Quick Start Training Program and the Adult Education Program all provide low income or unemployed people throughout Georgia with vital job training and education based on industry demands. These various programs directly assist rural to urban migrants searching for jobs by providing migrants with needed job training. These vocational-educational programs discourage rural to urban migration and are designed to encourage rural development. These programs are coordinated with various state sponsored rural industrial development programs. For those people who migrate to urban areas "in spite of" rural educational programs, the various Department of Education Programs are not as readily available.<sup>85</sup>

5. The Georgia Department of Labor has adopted a policy of concentrating efforts in rural areas of Georgia, giving a less than proportional amount of economic and social assistance to low income or unemployed people living in urban areas.<sup>86</sup>

The Department of Labor contends that by directing their primary efforts toward the core-city in the past, urban-city problems have been compounded by encouraging more migration. It is argued that the shift from an urban to rural concentration of effort would directly serve the greatest manpower needs in the state by discouraging rural to urban migration and the various urban and rural problems created by this process.<sup>87</sup>

II. Georgia's State, local and private agency economic or social assistance programs ignore migrants as a specific client group with specific problems.

Rural to urban migrants are faced with three basic problems including psychological stress, unemployment and urban blight. Georgia's state, city and private agencies do not separate rural to urban migrants from generally poverty stricken and habitually unemployed people in various social and economic programs assisting unemployed or low-income people.

State educational and job finding and creating programs are designed to assist unemployed or low income people in general and in no case single out migrants as a target group.<sup>88</sup>

Similarly, the City of Atlanta (as indicated in Chapter III), also does not treat rural migrants to the Atlanta area as a specific problem. Among private agencies in Atlanta, only the Travelers Aid of Metropolitan Atlanta, Inc., singles out rural to urban migrants through its counseling and referral program.<sup>89</sup> Other private agencies, including the Salvation Army and the Atlanta Union Mission, follow a policy similar to the state

and city policies of not assisting rural to urban migrants separately from habitually unemployed or alcoholic Atlantans.<sup>90</sup>

1. The social development of unemployed and low income people who have migrated from rural to urban areas is not given consideration by the State of Georgia in its various policies and programs.

Social development is recognized in the Georgia State Investment Plan as one of the eight major functional areas of State Government. However, none of the programs designed to implement the state goal "to provide a system of services for reinforcing the capacity of individuals, children, and families for effective adjustment of society," directly considers the socialization problems faced by the rural to urban migrant.<sup>91</sup> This group of people faces serious economic and social integration problems which need to be explicitly recognized.

The Georgia Department of Labor is the primary state agency responsible for providing unemployed or low income people with various job-related services. However, the department has adopted a policy that human resource development should be shifted away from urban and core city population concentrations like Atlanta toward rural areas. The department contends that a high level of service to urban areas encourages further migration of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas. This policy has detrimental effects on unemployed or low income people who migrate to urban areas searching for jobs. The department considers demands from urban areas for the maintenance of high support manpower programs as a "great hinderance" to shifting the department's efforts

from urban to rural parts of the state.<sup>92</sup>

2. Information about programs which could assist migrants is not readily available for potential rural to urban low income or unemployed migrants.

Numerous State, Federal, local and private services are available to potential rural to urban low income or unemployed migrants; however, these agencies often rely on inquiries by the public for dispersing information concerning these services. Most of these service agencies maintain a heavy work-load serving people who are aware of the various services. Manpower is not available in many state agencies, like the Georgia Department of Labor, to provide services to people who do not voluntarily come into department offices requesting assistance.<sup>93</sup>

Limited assistance for migrants is available through Travelers Aid in Atlanta, however, this agency primarily emphasizes aid to people passing through Atlanta rather than those wanting to settle in Atlanta.<sup>94</sup>

3. The Georgia Department of Labor does not maintain an adequate job information system for unemployed or low-income people.

The Department of Labor does not maintain an information distribution system, although the Department does collect information concerning job demands and labor supply. In order to receive job information, unemployed or low income people must register with a local Department of Labor Office. Most clients served by the local Department of Labor Offices are referred from other welfare agencies which require registration with the Department of Labor as a prerequisite to receiving aid.<sup>95</sup> By

not providing migrants with an information dispensing system, the Department is contributing the psychological alienation experienced by rural to urban migrants. The various problems faced by migrants are compounded by the relative unfamiliarity migrants have with a new urban environment.

4. Among state, city and private agencies in Atlanta, only minimal assistance is given in rural migrants in finding adequate housing.

As was identified in Chapter I, the inability or difficulty of rural to urban migrants in finding adequate housing after migrating to Atlanta is one of the major problems faced by migrants. This problem is compounded by a usual unfamiliarity among migrants with a new urban setting. Yet among state, city and private agencies in Atlanta, no substantial assistance is provided to migrants with the house finding problem.

III. Available Information is limited for Georgia's policy makers concerning where rural to urban migrants come from, why they migrate and actual numbers of those migrating.

Various economic development policies in Georgia are being heavily financed with public and private funds. These programs are based on a premise that by creating jobs in rural areas, unemployed or low income people living in these rural areas will fill the new jobs. However, very little statistical information is available and no model exists for policy makers concerning where migrants come from, why they migrate, actual numbers of those migrating, or the effectiveness of various jobs creating programs.<sup>96</sup> State policies should be based on a thorough evaluation of

this type of information in order to best serve the needs of the migrant.

No agencies, including the Georgia Department of Labor, maintains work history or previous residence information on people who migrate from rural to urban areas. The only information recorded by the Department of Labor from clients is the present address. Such information as why a person has migrated to a particular urban area and where the person was living before migration are not collected by policy makers. Such information would be useful in designing programs to assist rural to urban migrants.<sup>97</sup>

## CHAPTER V

### POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on evaluation of existing state, city and private policies in Georgia, the policy recommendations in Chapter V are designed to assist unemployed or low income people who migrate from rural to urban areas searching for jobs. Based on evaluation of tracts 9, 19, 20, 21 and 27 in Chapter I, the fact has been established that migrants face specific problems associated with migrating to these particular tracts.

The task of planning policy as determined in this thesis should be to eliminate the problems associated with migration of unemployed or low income people from rural to urban areas without discouraging this migration process as a means of improving the economic and social conditions of migrants.

The following recommendations are presented as a means of eliminating the three broad problems identified in Chapter IV. By combining the State's existing economic and social programs with the recommendations in Chapter V, Georgia will eliminate or reduce the problems associated with rural to urban migration by unemployed people.

1. Georgia should develop a Housing Finding Assistance Program to enable rural to urban migrants to find adequate housing after migrating.

The search for adequate housing in an urban area is particularly

difficult for rural to urban low income or unemployed migrants. Migrants are usually unfamiliar with the new urban area and often have no friends or relatives to provide assistance. Assistance might include a catalog of apartment buildings, their locations, rent and facilities provided, and also might include available temporary housing and moving assistance. Apartment finding assistance should also include aiding low income migrants in securing monthly apartment rent payments as opposed to more costly weekly apartment rent payments.<sup>98</sup>

2. The Georgia Department of Education should expand the Vocational Evaluation Counseling Program for handicapped people to include unemployed rural to urban migrants.

The Department of Education has singled out handicapped unemployed people as having special employment barriers. In doing so, the department is providing these clients with more intensive, personalized assistance.<sup>99</sup> Job placement success is much more likely when individual attention is given to clients, particularly when evaluating vocational potential. As established in Chapter I, the problems faced by low-income people who migrate from rural to urban areas are severe enough to warrant individual attention by the State of Georgia.

3. The Georgia Department of Labor should develop a publicity program designed to encourage maximum participation by potential clients in the various Department of Labor Programs.

As indicated in Chapter III, the Georgia Department of Labor provides Georgians with a very broad range of services. Although the de-



partment does not single out unemployed rural to urban migrants as a problem group, adequate services are available for these migrants. However, because of unfamiliarity with a new community or lack of education, these migrants are often unaware of services available. In order to make full use of various statewide programs the Department of Labor should develop a publicity program to inform potential clients. Also, the Department of Labor should be provided with additional funding to handle the added clients the publicity program will bring to the department.

4. Georgia should develop an information dispersing system designed to provide potential rural to urban low income or unemployed people with reliable information about potential migration destinations and various services available to migrants.

As explained in Chapter II, the decision to migrate to a particular urban area by a rural low income or unemployed person is often based on irrational or personal factors. These factors include information received from friends or relatives and personal misinformation received from various sources. By providing unemployed or low income rural residents with reliable information about various migration destinations, state policy makers will be able to direct migrants to urban areas with more opportunities for success.

Information provided by a state information dispersing network might include unemployment rates in various urban areas, major urban employers, available state, local and private social services available in various urban areas, housing costs and availability information and state, local and private job finding and training programs. This infor-

mation must include addresses, telephone numbers and names of all available agency and employer representatives. The Department of Labor could serve as the state agency operating the information network.

In rural areas, information should be dispersed at high schools, local unemployment offices, local churches, by county agents and at other locations which might be frequented by unemployed or low-income rural people.

An information dispersing system would assist low income or unemployed people in rural areas in choosing a migration destination with the most potential for success for the migrant and would assist people in urban areas who have migrated but have not found jobs. Various job finding assistance and job training programs can only assist rural to urban migrants when the migrants are fully aware of the services available.

5. Unemployed rural to urban migrants should be identified by various state agencies as a special group with specific problems.

As was explained in Chapter III, no state agency singles out migrants as a specific problem group. These migrants are served along with the habitually unemployed and low income in Georgia. By singling out migrants, the state could better identify problems confronting migrants and more successfully provide solutions for these problems.

The Department of Human Resources should develop a program designed to deal with migrants to Atlanta as a special client group with unique problems associated with economic and social integration into the urban

society.

Department of Labor programs designed to reduce unemployment serve both rural and urban Georgians. However, emphasis is given to underdeveloped areas of the state, primarily through economic or industrial development programs. These programs should be continued in conjunction with social and economic assistance programs in urban areas specifically designed to assist migrants.

6. Georgia must develop a data base to aid policy makers in designing a system of state programs to assist unemployed or low income people who migrate from rural to urban areas searching for jobs.

Policy makers in Georgia have difficulty determining where rural to urban migrants come from, why they migrate, and how many migrate. In order to best serve the needs of migrating unemployed or low income people, state policies should be based on a thorough evaluation of detailed information concerning these rural to urban migrants. Research in this field might include answering the three basic questions proposed in Chapter IV (III): Where do migrants come from?, Why do they migrate?, and how many migrate? Such research might help policy makers identify problems faced by migrants and might serve as a test for the Migration Model presented in Chapter II. The model developed at the end of Chapter II could be used by policy makers as a basis for anticipating the number of migrants. The model might serve as a means of organizing the information and data available for policy makers. The model's applicability would be enhanced by using other sources of data to substantiate

the specific opportunities or lack of opportunities for low income or unemployed rural to urban migrants in a particular urban area. The primary existing source of useful data is the Georgia Department of Labor unemployment rate; this rate is calculated monthly for every Georgia County.<sup>100</sup> The Department of Labor could increase the data base available to decision makers by asking Department of Labor clients where they lived before migrating and why they migrated to a particular urban area.

Various state programs designed to assist unemployed or low income people after migrating to an urban area should be analyzed periodically to determine the effectiveness of the programs. This analysis includes in-depth research and questioning in specific sections of urban areas with high concentrations of people who have migrated from rural to urban areas. Census tracts 9, 19, 20, 21 and 27 could be used by the Department of Labor as a study area. Detailed analysis of this particular area, characterized as an area with a large number of migrants, could give policy makers better information on the problems of rural to urban migration.

In summary, the preceding policy recommendations will help eliminate problems of psychological stress and unemployment among migrants, will help reduce urban blight, and will make better information available for policy makers.

The policy recommendations will accomplish this task by correcting weaknesses in State policy which magnify these migration problems. Policies 1, 2, 3, and 4 will provide migrants to Atlanta with house finding, educational, employment and general assistance. These various social services are designed to help migrants to urban areas and com-

plement rural assistance programs which help unemployed people in rural areas.

Secondly, various state, city and private agencies presently fail to identify migrants to Atlanta as a specific client group with specific problems. Policy recommendation number 5 will encourage state agencies to consider migrants as such a problem group and more effectively reduce the specific problems faced by these migrants.

Finally, available information is currently limited for Georgia's policy makers concerning where rural to urban migrants come from, why they migrate and actual numbers of those migrating. Policy recommendation number 6 will eliminate this migration policy problem.

## APPENDIX A

## ADDENDA TO CHAPTER II

White conducted an open ended residential preference survey of 450 residents in 25 Kentucky cities. The respondents were asked to say what they liked or disliked about 24 survey cities and to identify specific assets and liabilities in their own community which might influence a potential migrants impression of their own city. Thirty-eight percent of all the respondents liked or disliked the other 24 locations based on size, visual appearance, or other general impressions of the cities. Only 3.6 percent of the respondents mentioned economic factors when evaluating the other locations. (See Table 1).

Table 1  
The Structure of Place Images<sup>101</sup>

RESPONSE CATEGORY	NO. OF RESPONSES	% OF TOTAL
1. Size	147	14.5%
2. Visual Appearance	145	13.9%
3. Emotional Exclamation	112	10.7%
4. Relative Location	103	9.8%
5. Institutions	92	8.8%
6. People	67	6.4%
7. Morphology	59	5.6%
8. Environment	50	4.8%
9. Change	41	3.9%
10. Government	41	3.9%
11. Recreation Facilities	38	3.6%
12. Economic	38	3.6%
13. Culture	38	3.6%
14. Transportation Facilities	35	3.4%
15. Commercial Services	32	3.1%
16. Other	8	.8%
	1046	100 %

Economic factors were emphasized in White's survey when respondents evaluated their hometown. (See Table 2).

Table 2  
The Structure of Hometown Images<sup>102</sup>

RESPONSE CATEGORY	NO. OF RESPONSES	% OF TOTAL
1. Economic	260	12.3%
2. Recreation Facilities	242	11.5%
3. Institutions	229	10.8%
4. Transportation Facilities	211	10.0%
5. Morphology	180	8.5%
6. Government	171	8.5%
7. Environment	141	6.7%
8. People	133	6.3%
9. Commercial Services	130	6.2%
10. Relative Location	110	5.2%
11. Culture	89	4.2%
12. Visual Appearance	83	3.9%
13. Size	66	3.1%
14. Change	36	1.7%
15. Emotional Exclamation	19	.9%
16. Other	<u>12</u>	<u>.6%</u>
	2112	100 %

## APPENDIX B

## ADDENDA TO CHAPTER III

Industrial DevelopmentPromotion of Economic Growth

The objective of this program area is "to increase the State's income and employment to approximately the national average."<sup>103</sup> The theory behind this emphasis is that by encouraging industrial expansion, the additional jobs created will be filled by unemployed or low income Georgians. This policy has some impact on major urban areas but is primarily concerned with rural development. Rural development policy attempts to provide low income or unemployed rural residents jobs in rural areas.

The Georgia Department of Community Development has four divisions directly responsible for promoting economic growth through industrialization and tourism. The Industry and Trade Division assists Georgia and out-of-state industry attempting to expand, and assists local communities engaged in economic development programs. Assistance includes providing information about potential locations and coordination between potential new industry and local governments.<sup>104</sup> The International Division is primarily involved in recruiting industry in Europe, Asia, Central and South America and Canada.<sup>105</sup> The Public Relations Division has been given responsibility for promoting the motion picture industry in Georgia.<sup>106</sup>

Tourism is the responsibility of the Tourism Division of the De-



partment of Community Development. Activities include out-of-state promotion programs, and a statewide welcome center system. This division has adopted a goal to develop at least one major tourist attraction per year in Georgia and to have at least one developed tourist attraction in every Georgia Community by 1977.<sup>107</sup>

#### Science and Technology

The objective of the Science and Technology Program area is "to strengthen the scientific, technical and industrial (high technology) base of the State." This program is designed to encourage industrial development by making the state scientifically advantageous to locating industries and by encouraging developing industries to locate in Georgia. Efforts are presently being made to locate a major regional solar energy research institute in Georgia along with other facilities designed to capitalize on recent developments in the field of energy conservation.<sup>108</sup>

The Research Division of the Georgia Department of Community Development serves as an information and research center for Industrial Development in Georgia. Activities include data collection and dispersion on potential industrial sites throughout the State.<sup>109</sup>

#### Agricultural Industry

The objective of the Agricultural Industry Program area is "to increase the productivity and income of the agricultural industry of the State."<sup>110</sup> This program is designed to stop the decline in agricultural employment and improve the per capita income of farmers. The State Department of Agriculture has various programs designed to aid farmers and make agricultural more profitable to the farmer. The Georgia Forestry Commission advises the state's forest growers to make this form of farm-

ing more productive and profitable.

### Mineral Industry

The objective of the Mineral Industry Program area is "to expand production and income of the mineral industry of the State."<sup>111</sup> This particular industry has not been developed in Georgia and has the potential for creating many jobs for presently unemployed and low income Georgians. By developing the mineral industry, other types of industry will also be encouraged to locate in Georgia.

### Community Development

#### Bureau of Community Affairs

The Georgia Bureau of Community Affairs, a division of the Department of Community Development, acts as the primary contact between State Government and the eighteen Area Planning and Development Commissions (APDC) in Georgia.

The local assistance coordination office of this bureau gives aid to local governments and APDC personnel in applying for federal community development funding. This funding is available through the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Community Development Program is a form of revenue sharing in that the 100 percent federal funding is available to all communities based on the percentage of population below the poverty level, and the percentage of substandard housing. In Georgia, the funds are awarded based on the impact the proposed activity will have on the quality of housing or on the overall quality of low income or minority neighborhoods within the community. These community development funds are primarily designed to prevent neighborhood deterioration and to encourage economic, racial and social integration

in the community.<sup>112</sup>

### Manpower Development

#### Title XX Programs

Title XX of the Federal Social Security Act provides federal funding for State administered programs designed to assist unemployed or low income people who migrate from rural to urban areas searching for jobs. Georgia has designated its Department of Human Resources as the State agency to administer Georgia's programs pursuant to Title XX.<sup>113</sup> The following specific programs will be provided by the state of Georgia in 1976 through Title XX which will have a direct impact on unemployed or low income people who migrate from rural to urban areas searching for jobs.

#### Employment Services

The Georgia Department of Labor provides employment services, including assistance in obtaining paid employment or training leading to employment to individuals.<sup>114</sup>

#### Evaluation of Vocational Potential

The Department of Labor assists unemployed or low income people in securing employment through the provision of vocational evaluation and counseling services, to determine potential for job training or employment.<sup>115</sup>

#### Education and Training Services

The Department of Labor provides educational and training services to individuals. Such services include but are not limited to identifying the need for education/training and referral to appropriate public or private agencies.<sup>116</sup>

## Department of Labor Programs

### Job Placements

Through the use of a statewide job bank system, the Department of Labor places a heavy emphasis on a "job information service". The Department has instituted a policy of "same day" service to employers. Job Bank data is also coordinated with neighboring states when bi-state commuting exists.<sup>117</sup>

### Special Projects and Programs

The Department participates in a number of agreements with other governmental agencies. The Federal Bonding Program provides free bonding assistance when employers are unable to obtain bonding through regular sources. The Trade Expansion Act provides employment service to workers unemployed due to foreign competition. The Department also cooperates with the Office of Drug Abuse with a job placement and training assistance program at various state drug treatment centers.<sup>118</sup>

### Special Manpower Programs

The Department of Labor provides special employment programs for offenders and ex-offenders coming out of the state's prison system.<sup>119</sup>

### Emergency Employment Act

The Department of Labor has been designated by the Governor as the agency responsible for administering the Emergency Employment Act in Georgia. This act provides public service jobs for unemployed persons and is similar to the Title XX jobs described earlier in this chapter.<sup>120</sup>

### Work Incentive Program

The National Work Incentive Program is administered by the Georgia Training and Employment Service. The emphasis in this program is assis-

tance to people on welfare in finding adequate employment. A 1971 Amendment to the act provides potential employers with a tax credit as incentive for hiring people currently on welfare.<sup>121</sup>

#### Manpower Resource Programs

The Department of Labor maintains a cooperative Federal-State Manpower and Labor Market Information System. The program estimates labor statistics for eighteen sub-state districts coinciding with Georgia's eighteen Area Planning and Development Commissions. The Manpower Resource Section also prepared special reports for specific labor areas in Georgia. These include: "Occupational Requirements for Vocational Education", "Annual Manpower Planning Report", and "Manpower Potential in Georgia".<sup>122</sup>

#### Comprehensive Employment and Training Act

The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) was adopted by Congress in 1973 and is primarily designed to provide services at a local level designed and administered by local (state) agencies. These federal funds could potentially be used by the State Department of Labor to serve the needs of any special applicant groups, including low income or unemployed people who have recently migrated from a rural to urban area. Title I of the Act provides funding for counseling, testing and training of unemployed people. Title II provides funding for public service employment in areas with substantial unemployment. Title III offers special manpower services for needy segments of the population, including migrants, and for special research, technical assistance and computerized job placement.<sup>123</sup>

## City of Atlanta Programs

### Atlanta Manpower Office

The Atlanta Manpower Office is responsible for administering various federal training and employment programs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), including public service employment and the Emergency Jobs Program (Title II and VI). The primary objective of this organization is to deliver various federal and state manpower services through community based contractors. Services provided include basic education, skill training, on-the-job training, direct job placement, job development, special job development for older workers, ex-offenders and youth. Rural to urban migrants are not specifically singled out for assistance, but are eligible for aid through other various categories.<sup>124</sup>

### Atlanta Department of Community and Human Development

The Atlanta Department of Community and Human Development provides various social and economic services to Atlanta residents. The Department services are limited to the low income model neighborhood area of southeastern Atlanta. Services directly assisting rural to urban low income or unemployed migrants include counseling, job placement, vocational training, child care aid and relocation financial assistance.<sup>125</sup>

## Privately Sponsored Programs

### Travelers Aid of Metropolitan Atlanta, Inc.

Travelers Aid is designed to assist individuals and families with problems related to mobility and relocation. The agency provides travel assistance to the young, aged, handicapped and inexperienced traveler, information and referral services concerning community resources, limited

emergency financial assistance and migratory patterns evaluation.<sup>126</sup>

Most of the services are designed to assist migrants traveling through Atlanta with only minimal attention to the needs of people who have specifically chosen Atlanta as a final migration destination.<sup>127</sup>

#### The Salvation Army

Among the various social services provided by the Salvation Army to clients are included: rehabilitation programs for those released from prison; temporary lodging for transients and emergency shelter for women and children; alcoholic and drug user counseling. The rehabilitation provided is primarily through work therapy and individual counseling and/or group counseling.<sup>128</sup> The Salvation Army is a favorite "way station" for habitual transients and for alcoholics, 85 percent of those serviced by the agency. Only a small number of younger migrants to Atlanta request assistance from the Salvation Army Social Service Centers, (about 2 percent of the total serviced).<sup>129</sup>

#### Atlanta Union Mission

The Atlanta Union Mission's primary purpose is to rehabilitate indigent men and women by providing shelter, food, employment, and counseling to aged persons, homeless persons, alcoholics, physically incapacitated persons and transients.<sup>130</sup> The Union Mission serves a larger percentage of young people compared to the Salvation Army Centers. Clients are not required to live at the Mission before receiving service, and consequently, a significant number of people living in the general neighborhood of the Union Mission in north central Atlanta are provided with services, including food and counseling. Union Mission Counselors emphasize referral to State and City sponsored training educational and

employment services.<sup>131</sup>

Savannah Street Neighborhood House

Limited social services are provided by the Savannah Street Organization to recent migrants to the Cabbagetown neighborhood in central Atlanta. This service includes emergency assistance of food and clothing, health clinic, tutoring and night school for adults.<sup>132</sup>



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